

Message Text

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ACTION ARA-20

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ADP-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15

USIA-15 IO-13 NIC-01 AID-20 RSR-01 /149 W

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R 281330Z AUG 73

FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3401

INFO USCINCSO

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY BRASILIA

AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO

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USCINCSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PINT, AR, PFOR, BR, CA, UR

SUBJECT: 14TH PCA CONGRESS

REF BA 6222

1. SUMMARY. 14TH CONGRESS OF ARGENTINE COMMUNIST PARTY (PCA) PRODUCED FEW SURPRISES AND WAS USED MOSTLY FOR PLATFORM TO ATTACK CHINESE AND TO PUSH FOR BROAD FRONT OF POPULAR FORCES INTERNALLY. IN LATTER RESPECT, STATEMENT ISSUED AT CLOSE OF CONGRESS INDICATED THERE WERE SUFFICIENT POINTS IN COMMON BETWEEN PCA AND PERONIST PROGRAMS SO THAT PARTY COULD SUPPORT PERON IN COMING ELECTIONS. END SUMMARY

2. PERHAPS MOST INTERESTING THING ABOUT 14TH PCA CONGRESS WAS THAT IT WAS HELD AT ALL. IT IS FIRST ONE IN SOME 27 YEARS. DURING CONGRESS, PCA REPS CLAIMED PARTY STRENGTH WAS UP TO 150 THOUSAND (PROBABLY EXAGGERATED). TO COUNTER BARBS THAT PCA IS "OLD MEN'S PARTY", THEY ISSUED STATISTICS PURPORTING
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TO SHOW THAT OVER 50 PERCENT OF THE SOME 500 DELEGATES WERE UNDER 40 YEARS OF AGE. MOST OF CROWD SEEN GOING INTO LUNA PARK

(WHERE CONGRESS WAS HELD) WERE WELL DRESSED. ONE PERONIST SOURCE COMMENTED THAT PCA DELEGATES LOOKED AS THOUGH THEY BELONGED TO CONSERVATIVE PARTY OF JOCKEY CLUB RATHER THAN PCA.

3. ON DOMESTIC POLITICS, PRINCIPAL LINE WAS ARTICULATED BY SECGEN ARNEDO ALVAREZ AND POLITBURO MEMBER RODOLFO GHIOLDI. ESSENTIALLY, LINE CALLED PERON TO TASK FOR SOME OF HIS MISTAKEN VIEWS AND FASCIST PAST, BUT AT SAME TIME EMPHASIZED THAT UNDER PRESENT CONDITIONS OF ANTI-IMPERIALIST STRUGGLE, THERE WERE GROUNDS FOR CLOSE COOPERATION BETWEEN PERONISTS AND PCA. RODOLFO GHIOLDI NOTED WRYLY PERON'S RECENT DESCRIPTION OF MAO AS GREAT LEADER OF NATIONALIST SOCIALISM AND REMINDED AUDIENCE THAT PERON HAD LAUDED MUSSOLINI IN SAME TERMS AFTER HIS TRIP TO ITALY IN 1937. THIS MUST MEAN, BHIOLDI CONCLUDED, THAT PERON VIEWED BOTH MAO AND MUSSOLINI AS FASCISTS.

4. IN HIS OWN SPEECH, ARNEDO ALVAREZ ATTACKED BOTH LEFT AND RIGHT WING EXTREMISM AND SAID PCA DID NOT BELIEVE IN EFFICACY OF SO-CALLED GUERRILLA TACTICS - AT LEAST NOT UNDER PRESENT CONDITIONS. WHILE SUPPORTING IDEA OF COOPERATING WITH PERONISTS, ALVAREZ WAS NOT LOATH TO POINT OUT THEIR FAULTS. HE DESCRIBED PROCESS INITIATED BY CAMPORA OUSTER AS MOVE TO THE RIGHT AND CONCLUDED THAT IN ITS FIRST STAGE, JUSTICIALIST GOVT HAD NOT ENDED DEPENDENCE AND REMAINED CAUGHT UP "IN A PROFOUND INTESTINAL STRUGGLE" (AS GOOD A DESCRIPTION AS ANYONE'S OF THE PRESENT STATE OF THE PERONIST MOVEMENT). NONETHELESS, HE CONCLUDED, PCA DID NOT WISH TO SEE FAILURE OF GOVT; RATHER, IF LATTER WOULD SINCERELY MOVE TOWARD NATIONAL LIBERATION, IT WOULD FIND PCA AT ITS SIDE. INDEED, PCA WISHED TO COOPERATE WITH ALL POPULAR FORCES.

5. 14TH CONGRESS, WHICH RAN FOR FIVE DAYS FROM MORNING OF AUG 20 THROUGH EVENING OF 24TH, CONCLUDED WITH STATEMENT WHICH, AMONG OTHER THINGS, INDICATED PARTY WILL SUPPORT PERON IN COMING ELECTIONS.

6. ON FOREIGN POLICY, PCA REPS AND THOSE OF THE SOME 24 FOREIGN PARTIES ATTENDING AS OBSERVERS ASSAILED CHINESE POSITIONS AND LAUDED THE SOVIET UNION AS THE TRUE MODEL FOR LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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SOCIALISM. THE SOVIET DELEGATE SEEMED IN EFFECT TO READ THE MAOIST LEADERSHIP OUT OF THE SOCIALIST COMMUNITY, SAYING THEY HAD "BROKEN WITH MARXISM-LENINISM" (SEE REFTTEL). OTHER DELEGATES DID NOT GO THAT FAR - THOUGH SED REP ASSAILED CHINESE LEADERS FOR THEIR UNPRINCIPLED ALLIANCE WITH REACTIONARY FORCES WITH AIM OF DAMAGING THE SOVIET UNION AND OTHER SOCIALIST COUNTRIES.

7. PCA BLAMED STRAINED RELATIONS WITH BRAZIL ON CONFLICTS OF INTEREST BETWEEN BRAZILIAN AND ARGENTINE BOURGEOISIE.

RODOLFO GHIOLDI, HOWEVER, COULD NOT RESIST MORE NATIONALISTIC POSITION WITH RESPECT TO RECENT BRAZILIAN-PARAGUAYAN AGREEMENT ON CONSTRUCTION OF ITAIPU DAM. BEHIND THE AGREEMENT, HE DECLARED, STOOD US IMPERIALISM, I.E. NOT ARGENTINE BOURGEOISIE.

8. THE SOVIETS AND EASTERN EUROPEANS GOT SOME ADDED VISIBILITY DURING THE CONGRESS. SOVIET DEPUTY MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS DIMITRY ZHUKOV WAS VISITING BUENOS AIRES AT THE SAME TIME AND MADE A WELL PUBLICIZED CALL ON FOREIGN MINISTER VIGNES. FURHTER, ON THE LAST DAY OF THE CONGRESS A GROUP OF DELEGATES FROM THE USSR AND EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES WHO ARE, IN ADDITION TO THEIR PARTY POSITIONS, MEMBERS OF THE SUPREME SOVIETS FOR THEIR RESPECTIVE STATES, CALLED ON THE "FELLOW LEGISLATORS" IN THE ARGENTINE NATIONAL CONGRESS.

9. COMMENT. PCA'S NEW TACTIC OF COOPERATING WITH PERONISTS IS CLEARLY A MATTER OF FOLLOWING THE MOMENTUM THAT MOVEMENT SEEMS TO HAVE GENERATED, AS WELL AS BEING AIMED AT PENETRATING PERONISM AND WINNING SOME OF ITS FOLLOWERS TO THE PCA'S CAUSES. IT IS A MORE EFFECTIVE TACTIC THAN TRYING TO OPPOSE PERONISM HEAD-ON, BUT THE PCA IS NOT LIKELY TO WIN ITS WAY INTO THE HEARTS OF PERONISTS BY ATTACKING THE LEADER. AT LEAST, HOWEVER, THE PAC CAN NOW SAY IT IS ON THE SIDE OF A MASS MOVEMENT.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: COMMUNIST MEETINGS, PARTY ALLIANCE, NATIONAL ELECTIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 28 AUG 1973
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: golinofr
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973BUENOS06361
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Film Number: n/a
From: BUENOS AIRES
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19730812/aaaaaiez.tel
Line Count: 140
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ACTION ARA
Original Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: BA 6222
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: golinofr
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 15 JAN 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <15-Jan-2002 by martinjw>; APPROVED <06-Feb-2002 by golinofr>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: 14TH PCA CONGRESS
TAGS: PINT, PFOR, AR, BR, CA, UR, PCA
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005